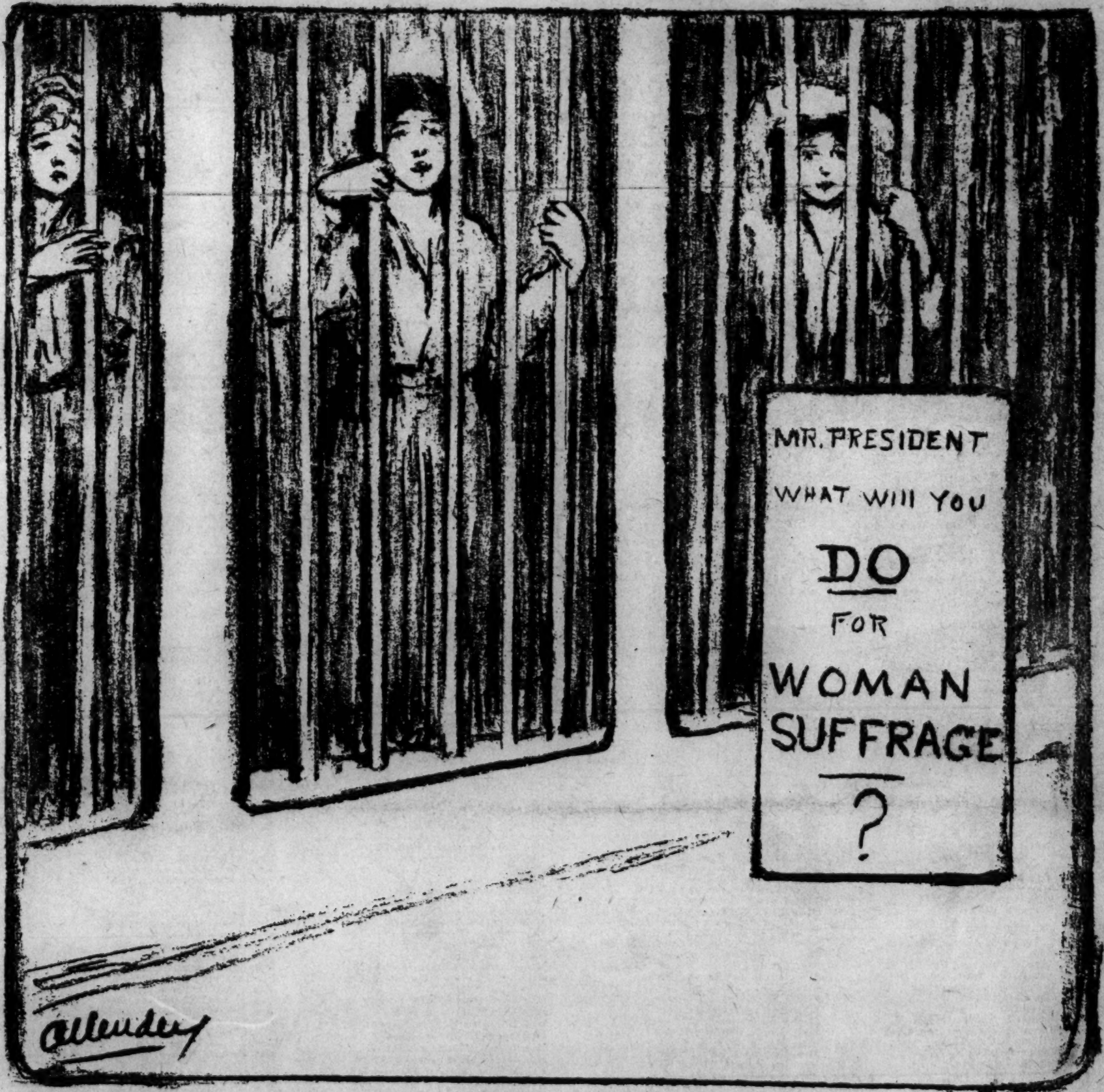


The Suffragist

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OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1917



Drawn by Nina E. Allender

President Wilson Says, "Godspeed to the Cause"

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Notes of the Week

Cabinet Member Follows Wilson Toward Action on Suffrage

ON October 28 Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo issued a statement in regard to woman suffrage. He said:

"The time has come when suffrage should be given to the women of America. It should be given promptly; it should be given ungrudgingly; it should be given gladly. The women of the United States have in every way, especially since this war has broken out, shown themselves qualified for the right of suffrage.

"When America emerges from this war, as she will, with enhanced prestige and responsibilities to the world, women and men alike must, upon a perfect equality so far as their civil status is concerned, work out the momentous problems of the future as equal partners."

Clearly the Administration that has blocked suffrage for five years is reversing its policy and plans to enfranchise women. Mr. McAdoo hopes New York State will "set an example to the country of just and progressive action." Both President Wilson's statement on suffrage last week and that of his henchman mean that the national Government is itself going to move for suffrage, or they mean nothing.

Reformation

FOUR hundred years ago, on October 31, Martin Luther nailed his 95 theses to the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg, challenging religious autocracy. This radical act of revolt was not at all popular at the time; it almost cost Luther his life with the authority he dared to question. But it kindled a religious revolution that went far.

The pickets who uphold banners at the gates of a political autocrat, four hundred years later, challenging his right to keep suffrage from women, are led by the same spirit for democracy that led Luther. They have lighted a political revolution that will go farther than the revolution started by Luther.

Picketing Legal in Nebraska

THE right of labor unions to make use of the peaceful picket was upheld by a Nebraska judge last week in a suit brought by the attorney general of the state against Omaha unions and opposed employers to prevent their carrying differences to a point dangerous to the orderly course of business. The court held "The right of the unions to do things in furtherance of their aims, so far as they do not interfere with the rights of others, is clear."

The right of women peacefully to picket the Government to get redress of their political grievances is meanwhile stamped into the dust of the police court at the Capital by a Government that wants power, not justice.

Indiana Suffrage Invalid

THE Indiana Supreme Court decided on October 26 that the partial suffrage bill passed by the last legislature is unconstitutional. The decision stated that since the state constitution defines voters as "male citizens," the legislature has no authority to grant the franchise to women under the present constitution. Indiana women were preparing to vote in the November municipal elections, with strong interest in throwing the influence of the women's vote toward reform candidates.

The Indiana decision will have immediate effect on the suffrage laws in other states. A dispatch from North Dakota, where presidential suffrage was passed by the last legislature, reports that the law will be tested at once on the same grounds that the constitution defines voters as "male citizens." The same is true of the suffrage situation in Arkansas, where the legislature recently gave women the right to vote at the primaries.

Constitutional lawyers of Nebraska believe that the Indiana decision will not affect the presidential suffrage bill in that state. The constitutionality of the law there has not yet been questioned, though a movement is under way to force a referendum on the question of its repeal. The Michigan suffrage law is also not parallel, it is thought, to the Indiana case, and will not be affected.

Suffrage Referendums in Ohio and Michigan

OHIO and Michigan, as well as New York, will vote on suffrage referendums in the November elections. In Ohio the referendum will decide presidential suffrage. The Ohio Supreme Court this week handed down the decision making the appeal to the voters necessary in a suit brought by suffragists against the proposed referendum. The last legislature passed the presidential suffrage bill. At once opponents of the bill made a petition for a referendum. Suffragists have attacked the legality of the petition of seventy thousand names, claiming that thousands of the names were fraudulent. The Court has decided against the suffragists.

Michigan will vote on a constitutional amendment providing full suffrage.

Suffrage Situation in England

MISS CRYSTAL MACMILLAN, English suffragist, reports in the *Christian Science Monitor* the progress of the Franchise Bill in the English Parliament.

"There is good reason to hope that some 6,000,000 English, Scotch, Irish and Welsh women will have acquired the right to vote for members of Parliament by November or December of this year. Unlike similar laws for woman suffrage in the United States, Norway, Finland and Denmark, it is probable that this bill does not carry with it the right for women to stand as members of Par-

liament. As the bill now stands the proposal is that women who are occupiers of premises, whether as owners, tenants or lodgers of rooms taken in an unfurnished state, shall have the local government franchise from the age of 21. For the parliamentary franchise in addition to women university graduates over 30, women over 30 with the above local government qualifications and the wives over 30 of men with these qualifications shall have the parliamentary vote.

"This is essentially a compromise measure. All parties, however, realize that it is better to accept this compromise than have nothing at all. Mr. Lloyd George can hardly take the risk of failing to pass this all-important measure. It would put so much power of criticism into the hands of his opponents at the general election, and give such a magnificent electioneering cry to the followers of Mr. Asquith.

"It is becoming increasingly difficult for a country ostensibly fighting for democracy, whether it be the United Kingdom or the United States, to deny to one-half of its citizens the political liberty they require and demand."

Madame Breshkovsky Chairman of the Russian Parliament

WHEN Premier Kerensky, of Russia, opened the Russian preliminary parliament in Petrograd on October 20, he offered the presidential chair to Madame Catharine Breshkovsky, "Grandmother of the Revolution," who was the senior member of the parliament. In her speech as temporary chairman, she discussed the land question, one of the main questions to be solved in Russia, declaring that the people must be masters of the soil they cultivate. She received a great ovation.

News from Neighbor Women

THE military authorities of the province of Stettin, The Mark, Madeburg, and Kassel, in Germany, have forbidden all suffrage meetings, German women report in the *International Woman Suffrage News*.

The German government has not yet begun to jail the women who are there protesting in greater and greater numbers against the autocracy that keeps them disfranchised. In Germany the authorities, it seems, hardly care to go to the lengths to preserve autocracy that the United States dares "to make democracy safe for the world."

First Step for Hungarian Women

M. VAZSONYI, the minister charged with the Hungarian Franchise Reform Bill, will introduce his bill in the autumn session of Parliament. The government plan is to compromise with Hungarian suffragists by enfranchising war widows, women with businesses, and women who have passed examinations.

Hungarian women recently sent a message of congratulation to the women of their enemy country, England, on their hope of political freedom.

The Spirit to Carry On

FOUR suffragists who had "blocked the traffic" of Pennsylvania Avenue with a reminder to the President and the public that "democracy begins at home," were welcomed back to Headquarters on Wednesday evening, at the conclusion of their thirty-day jail sentence.

Miss Ernestine Hara and Miss Hilda Blumborg, of New York; Mrs. Peggy Baird Johns, of St. Louis; and Mrs. Margaret Wood Kessler, of Denver, walked down Pennsylvania Avenue, a month ago, carrying a twelve-foot banner inscribed with this "seditious" quotation from President Wilson:

"We have seen a good many singular things happen recently. We have been told that it is unpatriotic to criticize public action. Well, if it is, then there is a deep disgrace resting upon the origin of this nation. This nation originated in the sharpest sort of criticism of public policy. We originated, to put it in the vernacular, in a kick, and if it be unpatriotic to kick, why then the grown man is unlike the child. We have forgotten the very principle of our origin if we have forgotten how to object, how to resist, how to agitate, how to pull down and build up, even to the extent of revolutionary practices, if it be necessary, to readjust matters. I have forgotten my history if that be not true history."

The banner was allowed to stand only a few minutes at the White House gates before the banner-bearers were arrested and started on the road to Occoquan. They served part of their sentence at the workhouse and the last ten days in the District jail.

The drawing-rooms of Cameron House were decorated with the gay picket banners that have been carried on the line in the last month. The hostesses for the evening were Mrs. George T. Odell, Mrs. Richard Wainwright, Mrs. Warren Baldwin Bayley, and Mrs. Frederick Wynne. Mrs. Harvey Wiley presided, introducing the speakers as women who "think new." She said:

"IT is difficult on an occasion of this kind, coming into a group of enthusiastic and inspired suffragists, not to drop into that old phrase, 'It is a great pleasure to be with you here tonight.' But I cannot regard anything with pleasure since last Monday, when for the first time I was present at a police court trial, and was

stirred to the depths by seeing noble-hearted women hailed off to jail for doing what? For striving to realize their ideal of democracy. It seems as if suddenly we were back in the early days of the persecution of the Christians, the spirit of the women was so fine, and the power that arrested them was so blind and arbitrary. So it is impossible now to enjoy freedom, sunshine, or proper food, while realizing that twenty of our members are deprived of even fundamental things, in order to benefit us and the rest of American womankind.

"It is so easy to listen and to follow the crowd, and to do the thing that is respectable and expected, and so hard to step aside from the beaten path to find a short cut and hew out a new way to reach a goal. . . . Picketing breaks no law, and involves no injury except to those brave spirits who are thus voicing to the Administration the protest of women against their unenfranchisement. As Charlotte Perkins Gilman has said:

'To think new. That takes courage grim,
As led Columbus over the world's rim.
To think it costs some courage. And to go.
Try it. It takes every power you know.'

"We are going to hear some of those who have had the courage to think new, and to live up to their thoughts, even to the horrors of a prison cell."

MRS. MARGARET WOOD KESSLER, of Colorado, told the message she will carry back to the other enfranchised women of the West.

"I want to go back to the women voters of the West. I want to tell them what their unenfranchised sisters are enduring for the sake of political liberty, and for the sake of the deep patriotism that demands democracy at home. I want to appeal to them to heed and to help in this bitter struggle. Women have never appealed to women in vain. The women of the West will hear, and rise, and act."

Miss Hilda Blumborg, Mrs. Peggy Johns and Miss Ernestine Hara also spoke, putting into vivid words the impulse for working out their vision of democracy that led them to the picket line and a prison sentence. Miss Beulah Amidon, press secretary of the Woman's Party, who was with Inez

Milholland Boissevain at her last public meeting in San Francisco, was the final speaker.

"THE federal amendment is bigger than workhouse walls or prison bars. It is a principle that cannot be confined. Women of sufficient vision to see political liberty for all American women are women of sufficient fiber to endure the small inconveniences and discomforts of a jail sentence. Tonight there are women in the District jail who are possibly hungry, doubtless cold, and very lonely. But they would be the first women to say to us, never mind about our bad food and our hard beds and the stifling air we breathe. Our job is to endure these things, and we can do it. It is for the women on the outside to take their energy and their enthusiasm and to carry on the work without ceasing, day by day, until the federal amendment is achieved.

"It was a year ago tonight that Inez Milholland spoke for the last time in public. Hers was the spirit we must have, the spirit to carry on. I think that if she could see the picket banners, if she could know the sacrifice of personal liberty that some women are making, if she could know the enthusiasm with which thousands of women are backing their protest, resolved that it shall not be in vain, that she would feel the prophecy she made a year ago, and died in making, is being fulfilled—'We do not put our faith in any man or in any party. We put our faith in women, and they will not fail.'"

THE seventeen suffrage prisoners remaining in the District jail are still held in solitary confinement. They are not allowed to see their friends, to have reading matter or mail or extra food sent in.

Ten pickets, Lucy Burns and those who followed her to the White House gates on September 4, will be released, after serving their sixty-day sentence, on Sunday, November 4. A supper in their honor will be held that evening at Cameron House. Mrs. Donald Hooker, of Baltimore, will act as toastmistress, and Lucy Burns, Lucy Branham, Mary Winsor and others will relate their recent experiences, and tell why, in spite of the hardships they have endured, they are ready to go "back to jail again" and again and again, until we have the federal amendment."

The November Tenth Protest

A DRAMATIC protest against the unjust sentence and cruel treatment imposed on Alice Paul and the suffragists imprisoned in the Washington District jail will be made on November 10, when the "long picket line" will stand at the gates of the White House, asking justice to all women now.

From Massachusetts, Utah, Maryland, Colorado, California, Washington, Louisiana, New York, Oklahoma, Minnesota, and Pennsylvania, pickets are already on the way, to carry the brave ban-

ners, with their silent plea for democracy at home.

The banners for November 10 will bear a special petition to the President, asking that he make a demand for the passage of the suffrage amendment a part of his message to the December session of Congress.

While the plans for the long line go forward in Cameron House, Alice Paul, Rose Winslow, Maud Jamison, Lucy Burns, Lucy Branham, and twelve other suffragists are held "incommunicado

in solitary confinement in the District jail. They are in cells so tiny that they can touch both walls with their finger tips. They can have no clean clothing, no reading matter, no extra food sent in, no writing materials, no visits from friends or relatives, no communication whatever with the outside world. Though obviously political offenders, they are receiving the treatment usually reserved for the most depraved law-breakers.

THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.
In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating and Hayden.

Referred

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.
In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported

Favorably, September 15, 1917.

Present Status

In the Senate
On the calendar awaiting a vote.
In the House
Before the Judiciary Committee.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).
March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Suffragist

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President Wilson Endorses National Suffrage

PRESIDENT WILSON on the 25th of October endorsed suffrage for the women of this nation as a war measure.

"The whole world now," he said, "is witnessing a struggle between two ideals of government. It is a struggle which goes deeper and touches more of the foundations of the organized life of men than any struggle that has ever taken place before, and no settlement of the questions that lie on the surface can satisfy a situation which requires that the questions which lie underneath and at the foundation should also be settled and settled right. I am free to say that I think the question of woman suffrage is one of those questions which lie at the foundation."

He stated clearly that the war burdening the country cannot excuse the leaders of any party in neglecting the question women are pressing upon them. The war is the reason for pressing suffrage now.

"The world has witnessed a slow political reconstruction, and men have generally been obliged to be satisfied with the slowness of the process. But I believe that this war is going so to quicken the convictions and the consciousness of mankind with regard to political questions that the speed of reconstruction will be greatly increased. And I believe that just because we are quickened by the questions of this war we ought to be quickened to give this question of woman suffrage our immediate consideration."

President Wilson was speaking to a delegation of New York women who asked him to encourage the voters of New York State "as patriotic men" to vote yes in the coming state referendum. He knew that legislation in New York State lies outside of his power. He knew, too, that millions of women and men who demand that he pass the federal amendment next session were listening to him. He caught at the chance to tell the supporters of national suffrage he knows it is, indeed, time for the people of this country to show the world "that they are fighting for democracy because they believe it, and that there is no application of democracy which they do not believe in." He set out the case for national suffrage like a political leader who sees the side he must take in a national issue, while at the same time he bade the "Godspeed" to the New York election required by the occasion.

President Wilson's statement assures suffragists of action from the Administration that has kept women disfranchised. Already there have been clear indices that he planned at last to act. The reporting out of the long-buried amendment in the Senate at the end of the war session, and the creation of the suffrage committee in the House proved that the pressure of women's agitation had forced the Democratic leader to turn from his obstinate stand against national suffrage. The President sees that this agitation leaps up from the grossest persecution. The question of liberty-loving people, "Are we fighting a war for democracy? Then why is the President imprisoning women who want freedom?" is growing in dangerous insistence. It is no longer safe to oppose federal suffrage. The President comes all the way to endorse it.

President Wilson has learned his lesson. The National Woman's Party will hold him now to action in the December session of Congress.

The Campaign from Coast to Coast

WITH Alice Paul, chairman of the Woman's Party, and six other women in prison for seven months for demanding action on the amendment, the campaign of the Party to rouse the country to "suffrage now for democracy at home" grows in ardency and effect. Greater numbers of women and men in every state are offering support when they hear the truth of the suffrage situation, and protests against the Government's brutal treatment of suffragists and resolutions asking the immediate enfranchisement of women are pouring in by hundreds to the Administration.

Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, press chairman of the Party, who is leading the Eastern drive of the campaign, has this week spoken at meetings arranged in New Jersey by Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, state chairman of the Party. During the week preceding Mrs. Baker's coming the New Jersey branch had aroused wide interest in the state by splendid preliminary meetings in Clifton and Summit. In Summit the forum of All Souls' Unitarian Church, of which the Reverend F. C. Doan is pastor, co-operated with the New Jersey branch in securing Charlotte Perkins Gilman to speak on "Woman's Greatest Opportunity." Mrs. Gilman prefaced her speech with an appeal for an understanding of the pickets, pointing out their courage in standing for political justice and the absurdity of the Government's pretexts for persecution. In Clifton, Miss Julia Hurlbut, one of the first sixteen women sentenced to Occoquan and afterward pardoned by the President, among whom was also Mrs. Hopkins, spoke to an interested group of women at the home of Mrs. Joseph Stiner.

In Paterson, on October 24, an eager audience gathered to hear Mrs. Abby Scott Baker and Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, of New York, at a meeting arranged by Mrs. George Scott, chairman of the Seventh Congressional District, and Miss Ula Levin, Paterson chairman. Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins presided. Mrs. Baker said:

"The National Woman's Party is not opposing any activity or decision of this Government. The only thing we are against is that decisions are made when we have no voice in them. We feel about liberty what President Wilson so beautifully says about it. . . . Six months ago we were confronted with the problem, 'How shall we keep woman suffrage alive through the confusion of war?' The problem was so difficult that men who had given their lives to propaganda declared its solution was impossible, that we must throw up the sponge temporarily. But by the simple expedient of silent picketing we have made suffrage the daily topic from coast to coast and set the nation talking of woman suffrage as never before in the eighty years of its history."

Mrs. Havemeyer made a stirring plea for liberty

for American women, emphasizing the fact that food conservation, Red Cross work, and selling bonds—every kind of service—has been urged as "women's work." "We could carry on our work with far better heart," she said, "were we working for a government that recognized our political rights, and established democracy at home by

street meeting in Albany, arranged by the Chamber of Commerce and presided over by the judge of the court; a big street mass meeting in Macon; meetings at fair grounds and in libraries have roused the people of Georgia to earnest discussion of the amendment and to hearty support of the Party.



Mrs. Abby Scott Baker
In the Prison Clothes of Occoquan

enfranchising women as a war measure." At this meeting Mrs. George Scott volunteered to come to Washington to picket.

On October 25, at a meeting in Wallace Hall, Newark, arranged by a committee of which Mrs. Suzanne Swing, of Summit, was chairman, Mrs. Baker and Miss Crystal Eastman spoke to an aroused audience of men and women, on "The Real Meaning of Democracy."

IN the South Miss Maude Younger and Mrs. Howard Gould have this week toured in the "suffrage car" through Georgia, speaking in Valdosta, Albany, Macon, Americus, Dublin, Augusta, Athens and Atlanta. In Atlanta Governor Dorsey received the National Woman's Party speakers, and declared strongly for suffrage. A mass meeting in the court house in Valdosta; a

THIS week Miss Mabel Vernon has finished a strong campaign in Minnesota and gone on to the Northwest, where she is now speaking in North Dakota. On Sunday night, October 21, in Duluth, she spoke to four hundred members of the Scandinavian Socialist Club, where her story of the amendment fight brought out a strong resolution to the President from these foreign-born citizens that "the imprisonment of American women for petitioning for their political liberty is not in accord with American ideals of democracy." After another mass meeting in Duluth, at which Miss Marie Baxter, of Cass Lake, announced her intention to picket at the Capital on November 10, Miss Vernon went back to St. Paul, where she had roused public feeling the week before, for a meeting of the St. Paul branch of the Party called to protest against the imprisonment of Alice Paul. A tea at the home of Mrs. A. H. Bright, of Minneapolis, a member of the advisory council, again gathered together women who are deeply stirred by belief in suffrage now, and Mrs. J. A. Short, secretary of the Political Equality League, volunteered to make the journey to Washington for the November 10th picket.

IN the Far West Miss Anne Martin has carried the Woman's Party drive up into Washington State. She has addressed audiences of voting women and men in Spokane, Coeur D'Alene, and Seattle, and across the border in Lewiston, Sand Point, and Moscow, Idaho, everywhere astounding Westerners by the true story of the Administration's treatment of women seeking justice. In Spokane, Miss Martin met the state committee of the Woman's Party. Another Spokane meeting was a tea given at the home of Mrs. Frederick Forest for the heads of women's organizations, who responded with understanding and enthusiasm. New committees have been formed, many new members won and public opinion opened up to the importance of national suffrage as a war measure.

Women from many states roused by the Congressional recess campaign of the Party have sent word they are coming on to Headquarters to share the amendment fight. Pickets are on their way from the West for the November tenth protest, and many other women will come to the National Advisory Council Conference on the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th of December.

Political Prisoners

A UNANIMOUS demand for treatment as political prisoners was sent to the Commissioners of the District of Columbia on October 15 by the pickets then at Occoquan workhouse. It was signed by Mary Winsor, Lucy Branham, Ernestine Hara, Hilda Blomborg, Maud Malone, Pauline Forestall Adams, Eleanor A. Calnan, Edith Ainge, Annie M. Arneil, Dorothy Jones Bartlett, and Margaret M. Fotheringham.

The only answer the Commissioners made to the letter was to transfer all the signers, together with Miss Burns, to the unsanitary District jail. Here they are kept in solitary confinement, deprived of reading matter, mail, writing materials, the right of counsel, and the privilege of seeing visitors, customarily granted to prisoners in the jail. The text of their letter is as follows:

"TO the Commissioners of the District of Columbia:

"As political prisoners we, the undersigned, refuse to work while in prison. We have taken this stand as a matter of principle, after careful consideration, and from it we shall not recede.

"This action is a necessary protest against an unjust sentence. In reminding President Wilson of his pre-election promises toward woman suffrage we were exercising the right of peaceful petition, guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, and further safeguarded by the Clayton Act and a court decision which declares peaceful picketing legal in the District of Columbia. That we are unjustly sentenced has been well recognized—when President Wilson pardoned the first group of suffragists who had been given sixty days in the workhouse, and again when Judge Mallowny suspended sentence for the last group of picketers. We wish to point out the inconsistency and injustice of our sentences—some of us have been given sixty days, a later group thirty days, and another group given a suspended sentence for exactly the same action.

"Conscious, therefore, of having acted in accordance with the highest standards of citizenship, we ask the Commissioners of the District to grant us the rights due political prisoners. We ask that we no longer be segregated and confined under locks and bars in small groups, but permitted to see each other and that Miss Lucy Burns, who is in full sympathy with this letter, be released from solitary confinement in another building and given back to us.

"We ask exemption from prison work, that our legal right to consult counsel be recognized, to have food sent to us from outside, to supply ourselves with writing material for as much correspondence as we may need, to receive books, letters, newspapers, our relatives and friends.

"Our united demand for political treatment has been delayed, because on entering the workhouse we found conditions so very bad that before we could ask that the suffragists be treated as political prisoners it was necessary to make a stand for the ordinary rights of human beings for all the inmates. Although this has not been accomplished, we now wish to bring the important question of the status of political prisoners to the attention of the Commissioners, who, we are informed, have full authority to make what regulations they please for the District prison and workhouse.

"The Commissioners are requested to send us a written reply, so that we may be sure this protest has reached them."

The meaning of the picket prisoners' letter to the Commissioners, who are part of the National Government, is plain. It is this: "The demand of women for political freedom is too great an issue for us to allow ourselves to be treated as common offenders for having pressed it."

"WE do not know," say the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, "what is meant by political prisoners."

Definitions of what constitutes a political offense vary, but the status of political prisoners is recognized in almost all civilized countries. Sir James Bryce says, in his introductory letter to Sigerson's well-known monograph on "Political Prisoners:" "We all feel the difference between the ordinary criminal and those whose treatment you describe (Irish patriot leaders who were prisoners at that time, 1889). . . . The time never comes when people venerate the memories of a thief or forger as we venerate the memories of Sir Thomas Moore or Algernon Sydney, political offenders on whom the last penalty was inflicted with a more general concurrence of public opinion than exists now as regards the Irish rebels of 1798 or the imprisoned Irish leaders of today."

Sigerson declares: "To be political, the efforts (of the offenders) must be such as are directed against the established constitution and order of the state or community. . . . In the public conscience the distinction between political and other offenses is made and rightly made, and sanctioned by constitutional practice, because it is recognized—firstly, that the constitution is based upon the will and framed for the benefit of the community; secondly, that if a portion of the community declares that a grievance exists which it cannot otherwise than by forcible effort get rid of, this dissentient part of the will of the community (so to speak) is ostensibly aiming at the benefit of the community; thirdly, that many grievances have been so eradicated, society at large having come to entertain that view which was a crime at law while a minority pressed it forward, but which became a cornerstone of the constitution ultimately when the majority adopted it."

When the Susan B. Anthony amendment has become a cornerstone of the United States Constitution, no method of pressing it forward will longer be considered either a crime or a misdemeanor.

THE French statesman, Thiers, in an official document on the subject of political prisoners, asserts that for prisoners to receive the special treatment allowed to political prisoners "it is necessary that it should be demonstrated and incontestable that they acted under the influence of their opinions." Germany and Austria use the

term *custodia honesta*, honorable custody, to distinguish the detention of political prisoners from the penal servitude of criminals. Bad as was the treatment of Russian convicts, both political and criminals, under the Romanoffs, a distinction was always made between them.

England leaves the treatment of political prisoners to common law, custom and precedent. In the early part of the nineteenth century Leigh Hunt, Cobbett, and other notable men, who suffered for offending the government, were permitted to live almost as in their own homes. They occupied well-furnished apartments in the jail, had their families with them, received their friends and transacted business freely. They provided themselves with books and such food as they desired.

After the middle of the century, when most political prisoners were Irish, attempts were made to subject political offenders to ordinary prison rules. But the principle of distinguishing between political and criminal offenses was still recognized. Repeatedly the government intervened to modify the prison regulations in behalf of political prisoners. In the cases of Vincent and O'Connor, leaders in the Chartist movement during the forties, the prison rules were not only relaxed, but reparation was made to the prisoners for the temporary infliction of these rules by *abridging the term of their imprisonment*. (Sigerson, p. 103). At this time political prisoners were always sentenced as criminals. No act ever recognized the existence of political crime, yet it was dealt with more leniently than breaches of the ordinary law. (Gray; Political Prisoners in Ireland, p. 21). Even Mr. Balfour, in 1889, when opposing the demands of imprisoned Irish leaders for treatment as political prisoners, said that he "entirely conceded that political offenses should be distinguished from offenses that were not political." The pressure of public opinion obliged Mr. Balfour to grant in large measure the prisoners' demands. Many prominent Americans protested treating these Irish political prisoners like criminals, forcing them to wear prison clothing and to do menial work. Among these were the Hon. J. M. Rush, Secretary of Agriculture; ex-Attorney-General Garland; ex-Postmaster-General Vilas, and a long list of governors and United States senators.

The English government fully recognized the status of political prisoners when it permitted Dr. Jamison to serve the sentence imposed upon him for leading an armed raid into the Transvaal in 1895, in a luxuriously furnished suite, to provide himself with books, a piano, and such food as he chose, and to receive his friends.

In France, persons condemned for simple contravention of police regulations, and political prisoners are exempted from work. Political prisoners are allowed extra rations and may buy food at the canteen connected with the prison or outside. They may receive visitors four times a week.

IT is not necessary to cite cases of political prisoners of foreign governments to prove the reasonableness of the picket prisoners' demand. The political animus of the Government is plain in arrests, convictions and commitments. The court, which is the tool of the Administration, is careless as to whether the suffragists are sentenced for the action for which they are arrested.

The four women sentenced on October 16 were charged as usual with obstructing traffic. "Your honor," said the district attorney, in summing up for the prosecution, "these women have said they will picket again. I ask you to impose the maximum sentence." This group, and the group of four, including Miss Paul, who were sentenced on October 22 for obstructing traffic, were committed for disorderly conduct. The commitment papers show this. Disorderly conduct covers soliciting and other disgraceful conduct. It involves moral turpitude, which obstructing traffic does not. What may be the purpose of the court in recording against Miss Paul and her associates an offense with which the police would not have dared to charge them, can only be guessed. That it had done so was discovered by accident.

The group who were sentenced on September 5 for obstructing traffic received a sentence of sixty

days. The group sentenced on September 14, on the same charge, received only thirty days. "I will give you a short sentence," said Judge Mulowny, "because your banners were not offensive." The banner he considered offensive had not obstructed traffic to any greater degree than the later one, but it had a political significance. It read: "It is unjust to deny women a voice in the Government and at the same time to conscript their sons." It was carried on the day of the draft parade. What further indication is required that judge and attorney consider the acts of the pickets political, no matter what the police charge them with?

THE demand made by the imprisoned pickets upon the District Commissioners embodies the usual privileges accorded to recognized political prisoners, with one exception. They did not ask for separation from other prisoners. It would not accord with their belief in democracy and their sense of the sisterhood of women. They have been glad that the slight improvement in the food at Occoquan secured by their protests benefited all the prisoners alike. Extra blankets, insisted upon by the suffragists, and first given to

them alone, later appeared on all the beds in the dormitory. Their very presence is a protection to the others. As one of the colored girls put it, "We don't get beat up the way we did before you suffragettes came."

Submission to restrictions designed for common offenders may becloud the mind of the public on the point at issue. That is what the Government expects it to do.

For their attempt to make clear the high political purpose of the picketing before the White House, which the Administration has tried to make appear a wanton breaking of a police ordinance, Lucy Burns and ten other women are today suffering the torture of isolation and mental and physical idleness, in addition to hunger and cold. The women of America know how to suffer for a principle.

Remarkably to the point at the present time are Sigerson's words: "International law forbids us to impose dishonoring conditions on adversaries when made prisoners of war. For a stronger reason, governments should not inflict dishonoring conditions on political opponents, their prisoners, who happen not to be aliens, but citizens of the same country."

Dr. Harvey Wiley Protests at Treatment of Picket Prisoners

DR. HARVEY WILEY, roused by an inspection of samples of food from Occoquan smuggled out to him by recent suffrage prisoners, has requested the Board of Charities to permit him to make a thorough investigation of food served prisoners in the District workhouse and jail, and urges that such rules and regulations shall be made as to "secure to the prisoners of all kinds, and especially to political prisoners, as humane an environment as possible." Seventeen suffragists, including Alice Paul, are now held in solitary confinement at the jail. Five of them are sentenced to seven months.

"A Diet of Worms won one reformation, and I expect it will win another," Dr. Wiley declared. "The inhuman methods of treatment accorded the women in the District jail and at Occoquan are such as justly to excite the condemnation of the whole nation."

In the following letter to Dr. George M. Kober, member of the Board of Charities, and well-known sanitarian, Dr. Wiley declares that the food in the penal institutions of the Capital is such as to lower vitality and conduce to disease, and that the sanitary arrangements at the jail are such that "better conditions for promoting tuberculosis could not be found."

"DEAR Dr. Kober:

"I am personally acquainted with many of the women who have been confined at Occoquan, and at the District jail, and have heard from their own lips an account of the nutrition and sanitary conditions prevailing at both places.

"I, therefore, feel constrained to make known to you the conditions, as they have been told to me, and as I believe them actually to exist.

"As I understand it, there is no purpose in penal servitude of lowering the vitality of the prisoner, or in inviting disease. Yet both of these conditions prevail both at Occoquan and at the District jail. First of all, the food question. The diet furnished the prisoners at Occoquan especially is of a character to invite all kinds of infections that may prevail, and to lower the vitality so that the resistance to disease is diminished. I have fortunately come into possession of samples of the food actually given to these women. I have kept the samples of the milk religiously for over two weeks to see if I could detect the least particle of fat, and have been unable to perceive any. The fat of milk is universally recognized by dieticians as its most important nutritive character. I understand that a dairy is kept on the farm at Occoquan, and yet it is perfectly certain that no whole milk is served or ever has been served to one of the so-called "picketers" in that jail. I have not had enough of the sample to make a chemical analysis, but being somewhat experienced in milk I can truthfully say that it seems to me to be watered skimmed milk. I also have a sample of the pea soup served. The pea grains are coarsely broken, often more than a half of a pea being served in one piece. They never have been cooked, but are in a perfectly raw state, and found to be inedible by the prisoners. I have also samples of the corn bread which is most unattractive and repellant to the eye and to the taste. All of these

witnesses say that the white bread apparently is of good quality, but the diet in every case is the cause of constipation, except in the case of the pea soup which brings on diarrhoea and vomiting. As nutrition is the very foundation of sanitation, I wish to call your especial attention, as a sanitarian, to the totally inadequate sustenance given to these prisoners.

The food at the county jail at Washington is much better than the food at Occoquan, but still bad enough. This increased excellence of food is set off by the miserable ventilation of the cells, in which these noble women are kept in solitary confinement. Not only have they had a struggle to get the windows open slightly, but also at the time of their morning meal, the sweeping is done. The air of the cells is filled with dust, and they try to cover their coffee and other food with such articles as they can find to keep the dust out of their food. Better conditions for promoting tuberculosis could not be found.

"I appeal to you as a well-known sanitarian to get the Board of Charities to make such rules and regulations as would secure to prisoners of all kinds, and especially to political prisoners, as humane an environment as possible.

"I also desire to ask that the Board of Charities would authorize me to make inspections of food furnished to prisoners at Occoquan, and at the District jail, and to have physical and chemical analyses made without expense to the Board, in order to determine more fully the nutritive environment in which the prisoners live.

"HARVEY WILEY."

Comments of the Press

Pickets on Parade

WHAT does that mean?"

That was the inquiry of many an onlooker at yesterday's suffrage parade. The puzzled question was elicited by the presence of two young women carrying the suffrage banner and following the actress' division.

The women's banners were marked with blue letters over the white. The letters spelled the word "picket."

These two women were the most noticed in the entire parade of 20,000.

"Unpatriotic" pickets! While your "law-abiding" sisters were marching down sunlit Fifth Avenue, you were, and still are, parading around your 5x7 cells, you and your valiant leader.

Why?

For asking for a federal amendment, instead of the slow, tortuous way—state by state. And what is to hinder New York from taking the ballot away from the women after it has given it to them, just as progressive Indiana has done?

The pickets in prison are suffering for having paved the way for President Wilson's unequivocal message to the Woman Suffrage Association today. These pickets did the pioneer work.—*The New York Call, October 28.*

Out of the Mouths

WILL the conservative wing of the suffrage army be able to persuade the public that the Woman's Party is so small and insignificant a group?

It was this "small group" which sent the suffrage special whizzing through the Western states in the last presidential campaign, its members honored by official welcomes from mayors and governors as they went.

It was one of the leaders of this "small group," Inez Milholland Boissevain, for whom was held the first memorial service for a woman ever held in the National Capital.

This "small group" assembled in Washington last March nearly 1,000 women, representing thirty-five states, and at a mass meeting in the National Theater collected \$51,000 in a few minutes.

For one day's picketing at the White House this "small group" was able to bring together representatives of thirteen women's colleges.

To this "small group" are constantly seceding organizations formerly in sympathy with the national association, like the Just Government League of Maryland.

This "small group," largely through the efforts of Miss Elsie Hill, one of the most conspicuous of the picketers, has organized, since March, state branches in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Rhode Island, Mississippi, and Louisiana, and now claims state organizations in forty-six states.

A glance at the long list of members of its national advisory council should rid any one, once for all, of the idea that the Woman's Party is an

insignificant, negligible group. Passing over the many names made familiar only by suffrage activities, and noting only those of independent reputation, we find Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr, Miss Crystal Eastman, Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst, Mrs. William Randolph Hearst, Mrs. Frederick C. Howe, Miss Fola LaFollette, Mrs. William B. Lamiar, Miss Hazel Mackaye, Mrs. Lionel Marks, Miss Julia Marlowe, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, and Miss Grace Strachan.

So far from being a "small group," the Woman's Party seems in a fair way to become "the main body of the suffragists in the country." From its ranks would come the leaders and bosses if "votes for women" were won. By its "erratic action," in spite of the conservative protests, the suffrage movement of today must expect to be judged.—*From the Anti-Suffrage column in the St. Paul Daily News, October 14.*

Pickets in the Magazines



LAST year Joy Young, of Leesburg, Virginia, youngest of the suffrage pickets, took bouquets to President Wilson with nice little notes in the midst saying, "Please may we have the vote?" "But he didn't do anything about it," says Miss Young, "so this year, with a dozen others, I stood outside the west gate with a banner which read, 'Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.'" For which they all spent three cheerless days in jail. What a position is Mr. Wilson's! Heads—he has to give the vote as a reward to the women who don't picket; tails—he gives it to make the pickets stop. Either way, our wife gets it.—*Every Week, October 15.*

A War Issue

AS A war measure, the Administration could well afford to encourage the Susan B. Anthony amendment instead of opposing it. Despite other big problems of the war England, France, Canada, Russia and South Africa are giving serious consideration to the demands of their women for some form of political power and the result will be a victory for women's rights.

The women of the United States are bearing their full burden of the war just as women have always done. They are doing their bit bravely and with patriotic fervor, and they are entitled to all they ask, the constitutional right to representation in governmental affairs. And the individual or party that seeks to avoid the issue or defer action is only piling up trouble for a later date, for all signs point to universal suffrage.—*Salt Lake City (Utah) Herald-Republican, October 11.*

The New York Post is Dragged Reluctant

MUCH more explicit than in any of his previous utterances, the President cast aside all restraint, and urged the enfranchisement of women as necessary to strengthen the foundations of American democracy. . . . With a suffrage campaign on in the most populous state in the Union, there will be a test of whether woman suffrage can ever be obtained by the state-by-state method. Defeat for suffrage in New York would undoubtedly mean a drive for the federal amendment.—*New York Evening Post, October 25.*

The National Party

THE National Woman's Party has been invited to ally itself with the new National Party formed in Chicago last week. Miss Alice Paul has received a formal letter from J. A. H. Hopkins, one of its founders. This party is a league of the chief minor parties—the Progressives, Prohibitionists, and the followers of Spargo, who left the Socialist party.

The fact that the Woman's Party has been invited to join with them is a distinct tribute to the political power of the women voters organized back of the suffrage measure. The matter will be formally voted on at the December conference to be held in Washington.

Mr. Hopkins urged the cause of the suffragists committed to Occoquan and is credited with having influenced the President's action in pardoning the women, among whom was Mrs. Hopkins, the New Jersey chairman of the Woman's Party.—*Dayton (Ohio) News, October 19.*

Justice Somewhere at Any Rate

PEACEFUL Picketing Upheld!" says a dispatch telling of a Nebraska judge's decision defending the strikers in a labor dispute. Small comfort to Cameron House in that.—*Washington (D. C.) Herald, October 28.*

Financial Report

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CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARD \$300,000 FUND FOR SECURING THE PASSAGE OF THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

List of Contributions from October 19 Through October 27, 1917

By mistake the financial report for the week ending October 27 repeated items of contributions and memberships amounting to \$1,233.95, which had appeared in issue of October 20. This amount is deducted from the following report.

Contributions made to National Headquarters:

Mrs. George H. Mead.....	\$ 25.00
Mrs. Helena Hill Weed.....	1.50
Mrs. Lawrence Lewis.....	90.00
Mrs. Benton MacKaye.....	5.00
Mrs. Ella M. Dean (collected)	3.00
Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer.....	200.00
Miss Mary Bartlett Dixon.....	10.00
Miss Florence McDowell.....	2.00
Mrs. Wilfred Lewis.....	9.00
"Illinois Citizen".....	5.00
Mr. Adolph Lewisohn.....	250.00
Mrs. A. A. Anderson.....	500.00
Membership Fees.....	36.75
Collection	6.55

Total collected by National
Headquarters\$ 1,143.80
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 Deduction—Repetition 1,233.95

\$262,137.10

Total collected by National
Headquarters through
October 27 \$263,280.90

Contributions made to Michigan Headquarters:

Mr. F. F. Ingram.....	5.00
Mrs. George Johnson.....	5.00

Contributions made to Colorado Headquarters:

Miss Martin's meeting.....	17.50
Mrs. Laura Heltschneider.....	1.00
Miss Beula Kent.....	1.00
Mrs. A. W. Durbin.....	1.00
Mrs. Frances Walden.....	2.00
Miss Garnet Pelton.....	1.00
Miss Theodosia Raines.....	1.00
Mrs. R. F. Feagans.....	5.00
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Miss Alice M. Greaves.....	1.00

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